"In studying the Indian blowgun in detail and the ideas connected with the arrow-poison, one is necessarily led to the question of how the Indians of tropical South America originally came to invent such a thing as the poisoned arrow and to use it in the way they do. An answer pre-[160]sents itself to any one able to enter into their theory of witch-craft and magic in general. In this respect there are three phenomena especially which greatly influence the imagination of the Indians: the first is the bite of the venomous snake, the second the mysterious magical arrow which the wizard lets off against his victim, causing his death, the third the poison he himself uses to bring down animals and birds. That to the Indian mind there is an intimate connection between these three phenomena becomes clear to everybody who is acquainted with the magical ideas or 'superstitions' of the Indians. Moreover, there can be no doubt as to which of the three was the primary link in the association series: it is the bite of the venomous snake. In all parts of tropical South America the venomous reptiles occupy the same important place in the native's world of demons; few others of the surrounding natural phenomena have stirred the imagination of the Indians in the same way as these. The venomous snake attacks its victim noiselessly, the wound inflicted by it is quite insignificant and yet causes death. In the whole action there is something mysterious or, to the mind of the Indian, supernatural. As a matter of fact, all Indian tribes in different parts of South America seem to have the same idea about poisonous snakes: with the venom of

the reptile an evil demon enters the body of the person bitten and causes his death. This demon is called súpai by the Quichua-speaking Indians, wakáni or iguánchi by the Jibaros. But they go still further in their theory: the súpai or wakáni in question is in reality nothing else than the soul of an evil wizard, perhaps still living, who temporarily takes the shape of the reptile in order to kill or harm an enemy. The bite of the snake was only the magical arrow of the sorcerer, the súpai or wakáni which killed the patient was really his demoniacal soul, identical with the poison permeating--according to the Indians--his whole organism. I found this belief among all the Indian tribes I studied, and I have no doubt that it is common to all tribes of tropical South America. These primitive ideas will be further elucidated in the part dealing with the religion of the Indians. In this connection I only wish to point out that there is also an interesting parallelism between the operation of the sorcerer and that of the Indian hunter who, with his 'natural' poisoned arrow, brings down the creatures of the wood. The Jibaros, for instance, call the poisoned arrow tsinsáka, and they give the same name to the mysterious invisible magical arrow used by the wizards, although there is also another name for it: tunchi. The magical arrow (tsinsáka) of the sorcerer, it is true, may assume different forms, but mostly it is sup-[161] posed to be like a small arrow. The wizard shoots his arrow from his mouth by blowing and a movement with his finger, just as the Indian, shooting with his blowgun, lets off his poisoned arrow by blowing it out.

In short, the venomous snake inflicting a deadly bite on his victim is nothing but an evil wizard operating through that snake, and vice versa, the Indian wizard, in his mysterious manipulations with the invisible magical arrow, is imitating a snake. On the other hand, the Indian hunter, who noiselessly lets off his poisoned arrow against an animal and kills it without inflicting any visible wound on it, is also a kind of wizard, since the poison with which he operates is believed to possess supernatural demoniacal effects.

The Indians, like primitive folk in general, are keen observers. It seems highly probable that precisely the mysterious way in which the venomous snakes operate, when by an insignificant bite they bring death to their victim, has suggested to their mind the idea that they may imitate them and invent a weapon which will act in the same way as the snake's poison. The thorough knowledge they possessed of the poisonous properties of certain plants helped them in their endeavours to construct that weapon, and it is evident that the arrow-poison is meant as an imitation of the venom of the snake. It is significant that according to the statement of the English traveller Waterton --the first, I believe, who studied the ourali poison of the Guiana Indians--the Macusis in preparing their arrow-poison not only used vegetable ingredients like the Strychnos toxifera, but also certain animal ingredients, namely, the fangs of the counacouchi and

labarri snakes, two of the most venomous snakes of tropical South America, which were pounded and mixed into the poison. When the Macusi Indian killed one of these snakes, he always extracted the fangs for use in the preparation of the arrow-poison. (1) This of course was pure superstition, but the association of ideas is interesting and shows what part superstitious ideas in general, and especially those prevailing in regard to venomous snakes, has played in the invention of the Indian arrow-poison."

"1. Cf. Waterton, Wanderings in South America, London, 1828, pp. 55 sqq."

1: Karsten--215
116, 832, 302, 825

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Other love charms are obtained from the animal kingdom and some of these even have the character of aphrodisiaca. Animals such as the nose-bear, the dolphin (apúpa), the caiman (kanyátsa), and the water boa (pangi) in this respect play a part in the superstition of the Indians. Thus for instance, from the penis of the nose-bear, which is bony, they scrape off a little powder and mix it into a drink or food which the woman has to eat or drink; this is believed to excite her erotic feelings so that it is easy for a man to seduce her. In the same way the CANELOS INDIANS use the penis of the caiman: they mix a little powder, scraped from it, into a gourd of brandy and drink it with a view to enhancing their own sexual potency. The water boa again, of which so many superstitious ideas are held, also yields a kind of love charm. When the Indians have killed an anaconda they take out its eyes and dry them in the sun whereupon they pulverize them and mix them with roucou, just as is done with the dried leaves of the simaika plant. The red painting thus obtained, when applied to the face and especially round the eyes, is believed to have an irresistible influence upon women. As to the dolphin, the Canelos Indians are in the habit of skinning the penis of the animal and preparing the skin as an armlet. When a man embraces a girl with this arm, she will fall in love with him. Since the bracelet is coloured red with roucou it cannot be distinguished from the natural colour of the skin of his arm. The grease of the dolphin is by the same Indians used as an aphrodisiacum. Adipe delphini penem ante coitum ungent, sic in muliere voluptatem maxime augeri putant."

"But the Jibaro Indian does not make trophies solely of the heads of his human enemies but also of the heads of certain animals. There is one animal especially which in this respect plays a curious part in the superstition of the Jibaros, namely, the sloth, called uyúshi by them. Feasts with trophies made of the head of the sloth are among the Jibaros as common as feasts with human tsantsas. This fact derives its explanation from the mythology of these Indians. In primitive times, the Jibaros say, all animals--quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, and so on--were men, i.e. Jibaros. They had human shape, human habits, human thoughts and passions, and human language. They also waged wars against each other, and made trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, just as the Jibaros still do. Later on this kind of folk were changed into animals, the animals which still exist. The Jibaros still have a very vivid consciousness of their supposed relationship with the animal world, a feature which especially appears in their religion and their poetry. But they especially claim to trace the ancient human qualities in the sloth. This helpless animal, according to their idea, is a direct survival from the remote period mentioned. It is still a Jibaro in the shape of an animal, but a Jibaro of a foreign tribe and consequently an enemy. He is a very old man, as

one may judge from his slow movements and from the fact that his hair is partly gray. (1) The Jibaros even profess to know what his name was in ancient times, while a man. He was then called Unúpi, his wife's name was Unúchi, and brother's Uyúngra. When, therefore, the Jibaros meet a sloth, they kill it with a lance, just as they kill their human enemies, and make a trophy of its head. This trophy is prepared in the same way as a human tsantsa, but is only reduced a little, since the head of the sloth is comparatively small. It is no doubt in part the wonderful similarity of the sloth's head to a human tsantsa that has given rise to the superstition the Indians entertain about it. In the trophy made of the sloth the fell of the neck corresponds to the hair of a tsantsa. The fell of that part is therefore preserved and prepared with care. The Indian who has killed the animal has thereafter to pass through exactly the same purificatory ceremonies as one who has killed a human enemy, and even the final great victory feast is celebrated [299] in due time with exactly the same grand preparations and with the same carefully performed ceremonies.

"1. The superstition held of the sloth is partly due to the fact that the animal is extremely tenacious of life. This the Jibaros suppose to be the case with old people in general. When a Jibaro warrior has succeeded in killing an enemy who was an old man and whom it was very difficult to deprive of life, he regards the victory as a special triumph."

There are also instances of trophies having been made by the Jibaros of the head of the jaguar. Many years ago an Indian woman was killed by a jaguar in the neighbourhood of Rio Zamora. The Jibaros regard a jaguar, which in this way attacks and kills people, as the incarnation of the soul of an evil sorcerer which has entered that wild beast with a view to harming or killing his enemies. The Indians consequently resolved to take revenge, arranged a hunt of the animal, and succeeded in killing it. They thereafter made a trophy of its head, and a victory feast was celebrated in the ordinary way.(1)"

"1. It deserves to be emphasized in this connection that the trophies mentioned above are the only ones customary among the Jibaros. It has been alleged that these Indians not only are in the habit of shrinking the heads of their enemies, but sometimes prepare their whole body as a mummy-like trophy, and I have myself seen photographs of such trophies which are even said to exist in ethnographic museums in America. I beg to point out that all trophies of this kind are pure falsifications, wholly devoid of ethnographical value."

l: Karsten--313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 825, 727 (1928-29)

"....the rules in regard to the diet of the Jibaro warrior are founded on the idea that by eating the flesh of certain other animals he will acquire qualities characteristic of these animals, which make it easier for him to escape his invisible supernatural enemy as well as his living relatives. From this point of view we have to explain, for instance, the recommendation for the slayer to eat the flesh of the agouti. This small rodent is very shy and runs fast, being rather difficult to catch. By eating the animal the slayer will acquire the same quality, at the time very useful to him. Similarly the fish wámbi is known as very shy and quick, great skill being required for catching it. The large sheat-fish also cunningly hides in the depths of the great rivers and lagoons, thus easily escaping his pursuers. Even this fish, therefore, possesses qualities which are useful for the Jibaro warrior who is trying to evade his enemies."

"Theoretically all animals, as also the plants, have a soul just as men have. But the role which the animals play in the religion of the Indians depends wholly on the importance they have in their practical life. Animals which distinguish themselves by their strength and ferocity, their peculiar appearance or habits of life, or their harmful effects, of course first become the objects of superstitious beliefs. Below I shall account for the most important spirits and demons of the Jibaros, beginning with those appearing in animal shape.

Some of the most formidable iguánchi appear in the shape of certain hairy animals of the wood, chiefly the black monkey (washi), the bear (cheiva), and the deer (hápa). The ordinary black monkey (Ateles niger) is much appreciated by the Indians both because of its flesh which is eaten, its fur, and its teeth, and is therefore much hunted. The animal which they fear as a demon, however is not exactly identical with the 'natural' black monkey. The washi iguánchi is in fact a purely mythical being; it is much bigger than the real black monkey, it does not climb the trees but walks on the ground on two legs like a human being, and is said to move about on the paths of the forest especially at night. [374] To meet this demon means for the Indian almost certain death. The iguánchi seizes him and kills him or takes him away to his mysterious dwellings. Dead men and the souls of enemies killed in battle mostly appear in this shape.

Exactly the same may be said of the bear demon (cheiva iguánchi). The south

American bear (Ursus albifrons) is comparatively small and is not particularly feared by the natives. Like the demoniacal black monkey, the bear demon is a mythical being which is much bigger and far more formidable than the 'natural' animal. The Indians therefore fear extremely to meet it in the darkness, believing that then they will die. Only when met in the dream produced by the narcotic drinks is it, like other iguánchi, supposed to be harmless and even friendly to man.

On the other hand, the timid and innocent deer is feared and always looked upon as a most formidable iguanchi. We here meet with a curious superstition which the Jibaros seem to share with nearly all primitive Indian tribes in south America. The Jibaros never eat the flesh of the deer, believing that if they do they will certainly die, and if they kill the animal, it is only to sell its flesh to the whites. The souls of people particularly feared in life take the shape of the deer after death, but there seems to be the belief that the souls of women also prefer to reincarnate themselves in this animal. The latter idea is naturally due to the timidity of the deer, just as its soundless movements and the mysterious rapidity with which it disappears in the forest easily suggest to the primitive Indian mind the idea of a ghost.

Much the same belief is held of the tapir (pamá), which is likewise looked upon as an iguanchi although it is not feared to the same extent as the deer. The Jibaros therefore avoid the flesh of the tapir nearly as carefully as that of the deer. With its pointed

snout and the whistling sound which it produces the animal is supposed to be able to bewitch people: the soul of a sorcerer may have temporarily taken up his abode in it. A similar superstition relating to the tapir is known to prevail among some other South American tribes.

Naturally among the iguánchi or demons the largest and most dangerous carnivorous animals of South America also figure, i.e. the jaguar and the smaller species of the feline family. Among this class of demoniacal animals the following are mentioned: the soacha or great black jaguar, the largest of all felidae in South America; further, the shia-shia, yambinga, yawára, different kinds of the spotted jaguar; the hapayawára, i.e. the puma or South American lion; and lastly the amicha, yantána, [375] and unduchama, different kinds of small tiger cats. All these beasts are particularly feared because it is believed that the souls of the medicine-men reincarnate themselves in them in order to kill their enemies. Even in his lifetime a sorcerer is supposed to be able occasionally to transform himself into a jaguar in order to bewitch people. If a jaguar attacks and kills an Indian, or if he only takes one of his swine or dogs, it is inmediately [sic] clear to the rest that an enemy sorcerer has been operating, who took the form of the wild beast in order to carry out his evil designs. Likewise, medicine-men in the form of jaguars or tiger cats are believed to send disease. Hence, when a medicine-man is curing a patient, among different demoniacal animals who may be supposed to have sent the evil, he also mentions the jaguar and the tiger cats. On the other

hand, these beasts also figure among the animal demons who appear to the Indians in the dreams induced by maikoa or natéma and who are called arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The jaguar demons who appear to the Indian in the narcotic sleep are considered by them as dead ancestors. I shall have occasion to mention these again as well as other arútama in connection with the narcotic drinks.

Other animals which at least occasionally appear as iguánchi or demons are the great otter (wangánimi), the nose-bear (Nasua rufa, called kúshi by the Jibaros), the ant-bear (wishvishi), and the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai). The first mentioned, the great otter, even figures among the arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The nose-bear and the ant-bear are supposed to be able to bewitch people with their long and pointed snout. The former is also regarded with superstition because of its disagreable smell, and its flesh is therefore not eaten. The otter and the paca again bewitch people with their long whiskers. The whiskers of these animals are used by the sorcerers for the same purpose.

Among water demons there is also the dolphin, called bufeo in Spanish and apúpa in the Jibaro language, an animal quite common in the Amazonian rivers. This animal is in the habit of following the canoes passing on the rivers, frequently emerging from the surface of the water to take breath. The Indians believe that it may bewitch people, since it produces the same sound as the sorcerers when, blowing and whistling, they

send off their magic arrow against their enemies. The apúpa, which in reality is a perfectly harmless animal, is therefore feared by the Jibaros as a dangerous wishinyu or sorcerer.

Much more feared, however, is another water monster living in the Amazonian rivers and lagoons, namely, the great water boa or anaconda [376] (Eunectes murinus). The Jibaros call it pangi, sometimes also in their magical incantations using the Quichua name amárun. The anaconda is in fact the worst of all the demons that people the spiritual world of the Indians. The Jibaros only share a belief in regard to this monster which seems to be common to all Indians in tropical South America. The great boa is the father of witchcraft, it is from his body that the medicine-men get the poison with which they themselves are impregnated and the magical arrow (tunchi) which they let off against people whom they want to harm. Both after death and in their lifetime the souls of the medicine-men are supposed to be able to transmigrate into the anaconda, and when the Indians kill such a monster they say that it is an evil wizard that they have killed. The largest specimens of the anaconda the Jibaros do not even touch with their hands after having killed them, for fear of the evil effects arising from coming in contact with the demon, but the skin of the smaller boas is often made into broad cinctures to which great magical power is ascribed. Since the anaconda is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, it is natural that it should also be regarded as the author of all

diseases attributed to sorcery. Hence the pangi together with his 'brother', the tsungi, is regularly mentioned in the magical conjurations by which the medicine-men try to cure disease.

As to the latter demon, the tsungi, I have not been able to ascertain whether it is only a mythical water monster or a real living animal. The tsungi is described as a woman-like being with long hair and large breasts, living in caves in water-pools and lagoons just as does his 'brother' the pangi. As authors of witchcraft both demons have the same importance, and the tsungi figures side by side with the pangi in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Not only the great boa serpent but also other kinds of reptiles play an important part in the religion of the Jibaros. Thus the great caiman or crocodile (kanyátsa), which attacks people swimming in the rivers, is an iguánchi and even is reckoned among the arútama. Far more feared, however, are the demons which appear in the shape of venomous snakes. About such reptiles all Ecuadorian Indians seem to have the same idea: with the sting of the poisonous snake an evil spirit enters the body of the patient. But the Jibaros go still further in their theory: the wakáni or iguánchi which entered the person stung and caused his death was in fact nothing but the demoniacal soul of a sorcerer who had taken the shape of the reptile in order to kill his enemy.

The Indians make a distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural' [377] or

demoniacal snakes, the latter being snakes in which the soul of a sorcerer has temporarily taken up its abode. The Jibaros call such a snake tunchima, i.e. 'bewitched'. If a non-poisonous snake bites, or if the bite of a venomous snake did not cause the person bitten any particular harm, this was only a 'natural' snake-bite. If, on the other hand, the person died in consequence of it, the snake was tunchima. Persons bitten by 'bewitched' snakes, therefore, generally die or can only be cured by the magic art of other sorcerers. How the medicine-men proceed when curing such patients we shall see later on.

Few phenomena of the animal world have impressed the primitive Indian mind so strongly as the venomous snakes. By their peculiar appearance, their soundless movements, and especially by their mysterious death-bringing sting they are, in fact, most likely to give rise to superstitious beliefs. Thus the venomous reptiles seem to have suggested to the Indian sorcerers the ideas upon which their magic art is based. Moreover, as pointed out before, the arrow-poison is probably originally nothing but an imitation of the snakes' poison, the same superstitious ideas being connected with the one as with the other.

The spirits and demons also frequently appear in the shape of birds. The ideas held of certain birds are exactly the same as those held of certain animals and reptiles. Generally the demoniacal birds are associated with the medicine-men and sorcerers

who use them as their agents in order to carry out their evil designs against other people. Like a jaguar or a snake, a bird may be tunchima or 'bewitched'. This means that a sorcerer has hidden his own soul or his death-bringing magic arrow (tunchi) into the bird with a view to shooting it off at the person he wants to harm. The spirits or souls of dead persons, both men and women, may also reincarnate themselves in birds, which are then looked upon as 'magical'.

In regard to the birds of which such superstitious beliefs are held, it is to be noted that all of them are distinguished by some peculiarity in their appearance or habits of life, or by their sounds. All individuals of a species are not necessarily iguánchi but they may occasionally appear as such. There are 'natural' and 'supernatural' birds, just as there are 'natural' and 'supernatural' snakes and jaguars. Thus the largest birds of prey of South America, the condor (yápu), the great eagle or harpy (unta pinchu), the hawk (pinchu), and the owl (ambúsha), are often looked upon as evil demons, especially if they attack men or domestic animals or appear under unusual circumstances. The owl, [378] being a nocturnal bird, is regarded by all Indians as a messenger from the spirit world. The Jibaros believe that the souls of dead women are particularly incarnated in the owl. Other demoniacal birds are the black vulture (chuánga), the tucan (tsukánga), the great macaw or arara parrot, both the red one (takúmbi) and the

yellow one (yambúna), with a common name called yusa, as well as the ordinary green parrot (kávashu). All these birds, together with the pelican (kauá) and the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea, called sumga by the Jibaros) are also mentioned among the arútama and appear to the Indians in narcotic sleep. Feared as bearers of the magic arrow are also the mango (chui), the umbrella-bird (Cephalopterus ornatus, called ungúmi in the Jibaro language) and most nocturnal birds. Among the latter, in addition to the owl, two deserve to be especially mentioned: the kuikui, a small bird which moves about whistling at night, bewitching people, and the uichúchu, another small bird with a long tail and almost green in colour, which leaves its resting-place upon the rocks at night and approaches the habitations of men, producing the cry from which it takes its name. The Indians say that the uichúchu, when sent by a sorcerer, carries the magic arrow far away to other places, bringing disease and death to the people there. The small nocturnal bird is therefore greatly feared and is often mentioned in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Various smaller animals, fish, and insects play a part in the superstition of the Jibaros because of the spines, prickles, or stings with which their body is provided by nature. The medicine-men and sorcerers, in their magic art, often make use of similar spines or stings. Such animals are for instance the hedgehog (kúru) and a sort of armadillo which the Jibaros call tuicha. I shall mention some instances illustrating the

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

Indian belief as to fish and insects when dealing with the medicine-men. Here I shall only add that the butterfly (wambishku) is looked upon by the Jibaros as a wakáni or soul, a belief which is also found among other South American tribes."

1: Karsten--386-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 825 (1928-29)

"The animistic ideas of the Canelos Indians do not differ essentially from those of the Jibaros. Thus the animal and plant demons and other nature spirits are in the main the same in both tribes. For spirit and demon, the Canelos Indians use the names aya and supai, corresponding to the wakáni and the iguánchi of the Jibaros. Aya thus means 'soul' or 'ghost', and supai 'demon' in the proper sense of the word. But there is no essential difference between the two kinds of spirits. As far as I can see, the animism of the Canelos Indians is also based on the principle of the deification of the dead; all supai are really the spirits of dead persons, especially spirits of departed medicine-men or sorcerers.

The spirits or demons appear to the Canelos Indians partly in human forms, partly in the shape of different animal beings, and are also believed to inhabit plants and inanimate natural objects. They reveal their existence especially by unexpected incidents and by accidents befalling people. The following are the most important supai or demons of these Indians.

One of the most formidable demons is the jaguar demon, puma supai, which may appear in the shape of any beast of the feline family known to the Indians. There are 'natural' jaguars and the demoniacal jaguars, the latter being such as attack man or otherwise harm him. The general idea prevailing among the Canelos Indians is that the souls of the sorcerers have temporarily reincarnated themselves in such beasts--

a belief that seems to be common to all South American Indians. There are different kinds of cat demons corresponding to the different kinds of felidae: Yana huagra puma supai is the cat demon appearing in the shape of the great black jaguar, the largest of the felidae in South America, which was formerly common in the regions round Canelos and greatly feared by natives. Inchic puma supai is the smaller spotted [387] jaguar, still common in the forests of Eastern Ecuador; huituc puma supai (huituc = Genipa americana, which affords the black dye used for body painting), a small tiger-cat with black spots on the fell 'as if painted with huituc'. It causes the Indians considerable loss by killing and eating their fowls.

Since the spirits incarnated in all these beasts are generally souls of medicine-men or sorcerers, they are also believed to inflict evils in a supernatural way and especially to send disease. Hence the different kinds of puma are, among other demons, summoned by the medicine-men when curing bewitched persons.

Not only professional medicine-men but aged persons in general, who are mostly credited with the art of sorcery, are often believed to transform themselves into jaguars both after death and even in their lifetime. Thus at Sarayacu on the Bobonaza I was told about a very old man who was said to change himself occasionally into a jaguar, afterwards again taking human shape. He went into the wood as a man and reappeared as a tiger. His footprints were first seen like those of a man, but farther in the forest they

were changed into the tracks of the beast. Appearing in this shape, he threatened even his nearest relatives and was therefore greatly feared. This story is characteristic of the Indian belief in man-tigers, as it is found in different parts of South America.

The deer (taruga) and the tapir (sacha huagra) were formerly looked upon as demoniacal animals by the Canelos Indians also, and their flesh was not eaten. Nowadays, however, the Indians have given up this superstition and eat the flesh of both these animals. They even have a special liking for the flesh of the deer, because, they say, by eating it they will become swift-footed like that animal.

Huaira supai, 'the wind demon' is a supernatural being resembling a monkey, which is seen flying through the air. He is regarded as the particular demon of disease-bringing winds and is much feared by the Indians.

Yana rumi supai, 'the demon of the black stones', appears to people intoxicated by the narcotic aya huasca as an Indian sitting upon great black stones in the lagoons. A purely mythical being.

Huas runa supai, a white woman-like form which is seen to rise from the water of the lagoons into the air and is believed to send disease. This demon, which is also known under the name yacu supai, ('the water demon'), is therefore summoned by the medicine-men. [388]

Cucha pillan supai, a human-like being which is said to resemble a monk, with

plumes on the head. He is seen near lagoons, but is said to be a harmless being.

Uri-uri supai, a being described as half Indian, half monkey. He is seen near the lagoons in the forest, where he goes about shooting with a blowgun. He sends disease and is therefore invoked by the sorcerers.

Amasánga supai, a demon appearing in the shape of an Indian, who moves about in the wood at night bewitching people; also known under the name sacha runa, 'the man of the wood'. He is said to be a very malicious being and is likewise summoned by the sorcerers.

Huangána supai, the ant-bear. He is said to go about 'blowing a cornet' and bewitching people. An evil demon who is summoned by the sorcerers.

Atacápi or curaga supai, a demon resembling a buck which is seen in the neighbourhood of lagoons and rivers. He is evil and summoned in the conjurations of the sorcerers.

Cahun supai is an animal demon of the size of a dog, entirely black and with a long tail. I am not certain whether it is a real animal or a purely mythical one. Generally two are seen together, 'one leading the other by a liana'. The animal is a supai. When an Indian goes alone in the woods, it attacks him, seizes his leg with its long tail, and takes away his soul. The demon is believed to say to the Indian 'Now I take your soul because of your sins'. The Indian thus caught will die. The Indians therefore never

kill this animal and run away as soon as they see it in the wood.

Among the demons who appear in the shape of reptiles the great water boa or anaconda, amárum supai, is the most important. The Canelos Indians hold exactly the same ideas with regard to this monster as the Jibaros. He is the father of witchcraft and the chief of the demons, and has them all assembled in the river. The amárun supai is especially said to haunt the cataracts and other dangerous places in the rivers where accidents easily occur to the Indians when travelling in canoes. He is also called yacu supai, 'the water demon'. A boa serpent, seen in the neighbourhood of a house, is regarded as the incarnation of a malicious wizard who is trying to carry out his evil designs against the inhabitants. Old men and sorcerers are also believed to reincarnate themselves in boas after death, just as they may transform themselves into tigers. The Indians never touch a dead boa with their hands, lest their body [389] should become scaly like that of the serpent. If they shoot it with a gun, the barrel, according to their idea, will burst, or some other accident will occur. If they shoot it with a poisoned arrow, the arrow-poison will thereafter entirely loose its efficacy. Generally the Indians attack the anaconda with long harpoons of chonta.

Any venomous snake is believed to appear occasionally--that is, when it attacks and does harm to man or domestic animals--as a supai or as the agent of an evil sorcerer. Among these demons there are for instance the rattle snake, mutúlu supai, and the ekis

(Lachesis) called pitalála, the most dangerous venomous snakes in the Ecuadorian forests.

As to bird demons, the same ideas are held as among the Jibaros. Various birds may appear as the agents of the sorcerers, carrying their bewitching arrows (chunta). Such a bird is for instance the tucan, of which family two species are mentioned: sicuánga supai, the ordinary great tucan (called predicador or diostedé in Spanish), the predominant colour of which is white; and yautíri supai, the predominant colour of which is brown. Both these tucans are regarded as evil demons which bewitch people with their large beaks.

When a Jibaro or a Canelos man has to fast on account of the birth of a son, he abstains among other things from eating the tucan, believing that otherwise his newborn babe will be bewitched. Normally the tucan is eaten by the Indians, and its brilliant feathers, to which a magical power is ascribed, are particularly appreciated.

Mucutúlu, a kind of the common bird which in Spanish is called mango, brown in colour, is looked upon with the same superstition as the tucan. It is believed to be sent by the sorcerers and to bring disease and is therefore invoked in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Yahi mangu supai is another kind of mango, black in colour. This bird demon is also invoked by the medicine-men.

Shili-shili supai is a small bird which lives in the neighbourhood of the waterfalls in the forest and is believed to send disease, producing the sound from which it takes its name.

Bullu-cúcu is the onomatopoeic name of another bird, as large as a chicken, which moves about at night bewitching people.

Supai pishcu, 'the devil's bird', is another nocturnal bird living near small lagoons and producing a whistling sound which fills the Indians with superstitious fear. When it moves round the houses at night whistling, it is believed to bewitch the people living there. The Indians, [390]hearing the cry of the supai pishcu, are therefore in the habit of firing shots into the air in order to frighten it away.

Chunta pishcu is a beautiful green bird which is likewise regarded with superstition because of its nocturnal cry. Like other demoniacal birds it is believed to send disease.

The hawk (anga) may be the incarnation of a supai. This demon is especially said to have intercourse with women at night, during sleep. A woman visited by the anga supai is likely to give birth to a supai huahua, a demoniacal child, which is of a grey colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk, and the legs deformed. Such a monster is generally buried alive.

A black nocturnal bird called tutúlu is also said to make women supernaturally pregnant, to enter the house where it assumes human shape and has intercourse with a woman.

Titipúru supai is a black nocturnal bird resembling a heron and living on the flat banks of the rivers. It is believed to bewitch people with the whistling sound which it produces, and to make them ill.

Acángau supai, the bird which is in Spanish called cacavero, is also occasionally said to send disease.

Even such insignificant birds as the humming-birds may act as the agents of evil-working sorcerers. There are two beautiful humming-birds that are especially mentioned as supai, namely, the rayu kinde supai and the curi kinde supai, which are believed to bewitch people with their long beaks and therefore likewise figure among the demons invoked by the medicine-men.

Poisonous insects are also regarded as demons. Among these the Canelos Indians pay particular attention to the black wasp, the scorpion or uputindi supai, and the black ant (tucandera), called yutúri supai. The poisonous stings of these insects resemble the invisible magic arrows of the sorcerers who also, as we shall see, avail themselves of such creatures when bewitching people."

"Besides the ordinary cases of witchcraft, which can only be cured by a medicine-man, there is one more evil the treatment of which is of particular interest, namely, snake-bite. As mentioned before, venomous snakes which attack and harm people are generally looked upon as tunchima, that is, as temporary reincarnations of the souls of evil sorcerers. With the snake's poison the 'arrow' penetrates the body of the Indian bitten by it. Where such an idea prevails, it is clear that only a man initiated in the magic art can properly treat the person bitten. However, among the Jibaros the person most competent to cure a snake's bite is not the ordinary medicine-man, but a man who has himself once been bitten by a venomous snake and survived. Such an Indian is consedered to be 'hardened' against snakes and therefore to possess special qualifications for curing other men attacked by the demoniacal reptiles.

As soon as an Indian has been bitten by a snake, therefore, a man [420] is summoned, if possible, who has himself once been cured of the consequences of a snake-bite. Special precautions are taken on such occasions. No strange person, not even any of the nearest relatives of the patient, is allowed to see the little wound. A secret foe may look upon it with an evil eye and send his 'arrow' into it, with the consequence that all sorts of dangerous complications ensue. The Jibaros generally have recourse to this explanation when a snake-bite which, perhaps, in the beginning seemed slight suddenly gives rise to a serious illness and causes the patient's death. Hence no one

but the curer is allowed to treat the sufferer, and the cure takes place, not in the house, but outside in the forest, whither the 'doctor' cautiously leads the person bitten by the snake. In the forest he has been attacked by the evil demon, in the forest, therefore, the same demon must be conjured and the effects of his attack neutralized. A small provisional shelter is made, and the curer stays there alone with the patient during the whole time that he is treating him. The treatment consists in conjurations and operations of much the same kind as those practised by the ordinary medicine-men. The medicine mostly employed is juice of tobacco. The doctor repeatedly takes the medicine into his mouth and thereupon vigorously sucks the wound caused by the snake. He sings certain incantations, summoning the demon operating in the venomous snake.

Besides the juice of tobacco, which may in itself have beneficial effects, certain other natural medicines are used against snake-bite. The most common of these is the one prepared from a plant called piri-piri. Of this gramineous plant there are five kinds which differ from each other in the size of the leaves. The kind used against the poison of snakes is called napi piripiri (snake's piripiri). The tubers of the plant are mashed in a quantity of cold water, and the little wound is carefully washed with the solution. The patient also has to drink the same medicine. Another kind of remedy is a clyster prepared from the exceedingly strong Indian pepper (Capsicum). A quantity of the pepper is dissolved in water and the solution is squirted into the rectum through

the hollow stem of the carrot plant (Daucus carota). A third remedy used in such cases is obtained from the animal kingdom. There is a sort of crab, living in fresh water, which is called uriki by the Jibaros. The whole animal is crushed with a club and boiled in water, and the patient takes the decoction as a medicine. It is also good for him to eat the animal itself.

Although all these medicines may in themselves have beneficial [421] effects, they are used by the Indians chiefly because of the magical or supernatural properties they are supposed to possess. The Indians believe that by using them they are able to drive out the evil demon from the patient's body.

The Indians frequently have recourse to body-painting as a prophylactic. That even snake-bite is sometimes cured by magical body-painting is shown by the following instance. An Indian on the Upano was bitten by a comparatively harmless snake. He soon recovered, but for several days afterwards wandered about with black snake-like rings painted round the thighs and the body with genipa. These rings according to his own explanation represented the snake that had bitten him, and were believed to neutralize the harmful effects of the bite."

Is Karsten--421-422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a person is cured of the consequences of a snake-bite much in the same way. The medicine-man takes tobacco juice into his mouth and sucks the wound with it, singing conjurations. From time to time he interrupts these operations to fan the patient with the branch of a tree called chini papaya or ahuirintsúma. This tree is much like the ordinary Carica papaya, but its branches are provided with large soft spines to which the Indians ascribe magical properties. When the patient is fanned or lightly beaten with this magic branch, the treatment is supposed to disperse the evil and to expel it from his body.

On the fifth day, independent of whether the patient has recovered or is about to die, the following ceremony takes place. Five round or somewhat oblate stones are looked for on the bank of the river, and arranged in a row from the house outwards, with a distance of about one foot between each stone. Now the medicine-man, either alone or with the assistance of another man, makes the patient slowly walk along these stones, passing from the house outwards and back. By this procedure, it is believed, he will be relieved of the consequences of the snake-bite. The cure is due to the magic virtues ascribed to the stones.

When a Canelos Indian has been bitten by a snake and the reptile escaped before the Indians were able to kill it, the following ceremony is performed. They take a stick of palo de balsa (Ochroma piscatoria) and paint it with red rings and spots all round so as

to make it more or less resemble the snake. For paint they use crude roucou (Bixa orellana), taken direct from the tree. A string is fastened to the painted stick, whereupon a man draws it from the patient a short distance into the [422] wood. There the stick is broken into pieces and thrown away. By this procedure the Indians believe they kill the soul of the snake, and consequently the patient will recover."

1: Karsten--491-492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 825 (1928-29)

"The giant serpent, especially the water boa or anaconda (Eunectes murinus), is one of the animal beings most frequently represented in the ornamental art of the Jibaros, and it is natural to connect this fact with the other fact that it is one of the most dreaded animal demons known to the Indians. Thus the designs painted on the beautiful big clay vessel from Canelos depicted on Pl. XX, 1, represent the giant snake, not however the water boa or anaconda, but the boa constrictor, a comparatively rare reptile in Western Amazonas and much more rarely represented in the Indian art than the water boa. The Canelos Indians call this reptile amárun and use the same name for the orna-[492] ment. Another snake demon, almost equally often represented, is the Lachesis, one of the most common and most venomous snakes in the whole of South America. It occurs as an ornament for instance on the clay dishes on Pls. XVIII, 6., XIX, 1., and XX, 2. and is also applied to the face (Fig. 18, d, p. 493)."

1: Karsten--501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151, 775, 825 (1928-29)

"The Indian is a born romanticist, but the nature symbolism characteristic of the romantic view has for him a much more real import than for a civilized poet. All nature, not only animals, but also trees and plants, nay, even inanimate matter, reflect in his mind human life, human thoughts and feelings, not merely analogically, however, but simply because human souls are believed to inhabit these natural objects or to have temporarily taken up their abode in them. Very frequently the spirits of special ancestors or relatives, known by name, are recognized in this or that rock or hill, in this or that lake or spring, in definite quadrupeds and birds. Intimately connected with this view is the 'sacredness' ascribed to domestic animals. I have seen Indian women lament over dead dogs quite as if they had been beloved relatives, and neither these nor the animals and birds of the wood which are commonly tamed by the Indians are ever killed, however old and decrepit they may become. In the same sense, that is, as the seats of human souls, the cultivated edible plants are held sacred and, as we have seen, are addressed in prayers and incantations just as if they had personality. In one word, the idea that all nature is animate, which has inspired even philosophic thinkers among civilized peoples, thoroughly dominates the primitive religious philosophy of the Indians. We already know this primitive philosophy from the chapters on religion, but it is interesting to note that it also underlies their primitive lyric poetry, which in fact could not be understood without taking it into consideration."

2: Stirling--72 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

"When during a raid an individual is killed who happens to be related to a member of the opposite party, Jivaro custom does not permit that a tsantsa be made of the victim's head. It also happens that a Jivaro will sometimes succeed in killing an enemy but will be compelled to retreat before he has had the opportunity of taking his victim's head. Sometimes during the heat of a battle the friends of slain Jivaros have an opportunity of concealing the bodies or taking them away before the enemy can secure them. In such instances the Jivaro victor later prepares a tsantsa from the head of a sloth, which serves as a substitute (pl. 33). There is a reference by Barriero which seems to refer to this practice:

> If pressed by the enemy so that the Jivaro does not have time to cut off the head of his dead enemy, the traditional ceremony takes place anyway and the tsantsa is replaced by the head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy. (3)

This must have referred to the sloth and Barriero probably misunderstood his informant."

"3. Barriero, in Bollaert, 1863a, p.113."

'There are evidently other occasions when animal heads other than those of the sloth are prepared in the manner of tsantsas. Karsten refers to an instance when a woman on the Zamora was killed by a jaguar. Her relations killed a jaguar in retaliation and shrunk its head. (5)

Homer Eamigh told the writer of having witnessed the ceremonial preparation of a condor's head in a jivaría, on the Upano, but unfortunately did not inquire as to the circumstances.

When we were on the lower Santiago we had with us a number of Jivaros from the Yaupe River who killed a Matasapi, one of the large monkeys of this region. We requested one of these Indians, who was said to be the most expert in the art, to make a tsantsa of [74] its head. He complied with our request and we were able to watch the process in detail.

"5. Often deaths in the jungle are attributed to the supernatural action of the jaguar. The writer was told on the Chinganasa of a boy who had recently been killed by a jaguar. Further inquiry developed the fact that he had fallen from a tree while retrieving a monkey shot with a poisoned dart. The 'jaguar' had caused a limb to break, thus killing the boy. In the same manner a Jivaro will say that a person or persons were 'eaten by an anaconda' when actually they had drowned in the river after the canoe was upset by 'Pangi.'"

First he cut the two muscles which run down from the base of the neck along the top of the shoulder. These were both cut through at about the center of the shoulders. Then he selected a point at the top of the sternum, making an incision and bringing the cut in wide curves on either side from this point until it joined the cuts which he had made on top of the shoulders. A similar cut was then made in the back. When the skin had been cut completely around he lifted it up and severed the neck at a point just below the chin.

Then, making a small vertical incision in the back of the neck and part way up the rear of the head, he extracted the skull by literally peeling off the skin, taking great pains that none of the face should be torn and easing the process along by using a small knife. When the skull had been removed the skin of the head and face resembled an empty sack with holes where the eyes and mouth had been and a wrinkled portion where the nose bones had been removed. The ears were left attached.

The skin was then put into a pot partially filled with water which was brought almost to a boil. From time to time he lifted out the skin by the hair to see how it was progressing. After being immersed in the hot water for about 10 minutes he removed it, as he did not desire to shrink it too much. By this time its size had decreased approximately one-fourth.

With his fingers he then picked the loose flesh from the lips and face, much in the manner that one would pick off the dead skin from a mild case of sunburn. Then, putting his

hand inside the head, he carefully cleaned it of any clinging flesh that still remained inside. This being done, he placed it back in the pot for about a minute in order to wash off the loose sections of skin.

Again removing the head, he skewered the lips together with three splinters of palm wood placed completely through the lips in a vertical position. He next took a length of chambira fiber and laced around the splinters, thus binding the lips firmly together. Then he inserted a hot stone just large enough to enter the neck orifice, rolling the head about in his hands in such a manner as to thoroughly sear the inside of the skin. After the rock had cooled off somewhat he removed it and inserted another one which had been freshly heated, repeating the process. With his fingers and a smooth pebble he molded and smoothed over the face.

Next he pierced the crown of the head with a heavy splinter of palm wood and ran a cord of chambira fiber through the opening thus formed. With this he hung the head from a stick so that it was about 2 feet above the fire, which by this time was blazing very little, so that the smoke from the fire curled up around the head. He [75] also placed a number of green leaves on the fire in order to produce a smudge. After allowing it to smoke in this manner for about an hour he removed it, carefully wiped it off, and, using a small bone awl, very carefully and neatly selvaged the rim of the neck with chambira fiber. The head was then considered complete.

While this was no doubt an abbreviated method of making a tsantsa, particularly since

he did not desire to make the head extremely small, it probably represents approximately the technique employed in preparing a human head."

2: Stirling--103 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 825

"Both men and women occasionally wear about the wrists and ankles narrow circlets made from the skin of a small variety of green snake which are supposed to protect the wearer against evil influences in the forest. There are numerous variations to be found among the ornaments worn by both sexes, but as a rule they conform rather closely to the types enumerated above."

2: Stirling--119 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"The second of the disease spirits is called Amaron. This is the spirit controlled by napi, the snake. He is called out in cases of snake bite or other poisonous bites of similar nature. The method of treatment is exactly the same as in the case of Minura, excepting that this spirit responds more easily and the wishinu does not have to work so hard nor so long. The songs which are used in calling are, of course, special songs to Amaron. In addition to the magical treatment, the patient who has been made sick by Amaron is also given an enema of crushed red pepper. The wishinu fills his mouth with the fiery liquid and by means of a bamboo tube blows it forcibly into the rectum of the patient. In order to send Amaron into the body of anyone he deisres the wishinu goes into the forest and calls the spirit in the same manner as described for Minura, using, of course, the appropriate songs."

2: Stirling--119-120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"All localized aches and pains in various parts of the body other than in the stomach are caused by a fifth disease spirit known as [120] Morovi. This spirit is possessed by the night bird which the Jivaros call by the same name. The treatment of these sicknesses is as before described. When the wishinu wishes to send the spirits of Chingi or Morovi to someone else he goes into the forest and calls them by blowing tobacco. Such parts of the forest are selected as are known to be occupied by the birds which represent the spirit.

The sixth disease spirit is Tunchi, the spirit of the biting insects, such as ants. This spirit produces all rashes, itches, and skin eruptions. Tunchi is controlled by the wishinu in a similar manner to the other spirits."

4: Up de Graff--227-228 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 825

"The Jívaros tell how it came about that the coto has an enormously oversized larynx. One day the maquisapa and he met each other in the woods. The coto was showing the other how to break cocoanuts by pounding them together, but his long-legged cousin, when he tried to imitate him, caught his thumbs between the nuts and lopped them off. Determined to revenge their loss, when next he met his bearded friend, he persuaded him by means of slight-of-hand that it was unnecessary to crack them at all, and that they tasted much better when swallowed whole. The credulous coto followed his [228] advice, but the cocoanut stuck in his throat, and left its mark on all his progeny to this day, while the children of the maquisapa must go for all time without their thumbs, although they still retain their ten toes."

4: Up de Graff--292-293 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 752, 761, 825

"During my six years in the Amazon bush, I did not see more [293] than half a dozen venomous snakes in all, comprising three species, two of them only some fifteen inches long. However small, they kill the native Indians. They succumb to their bite perhaps as much from the psychological effect as from the actual venom. Jack and I were both bitten by the snake which always proves fatal to the Jívaros who neither know of, nor attempt to discover any remedy against their bite. They are hopeless fatalists with regard to this particular catastrophe. They merely say 'I have been bitten,' and lie down to die.

Doubtless there are other species which I have never seen, but at any rate the point which I wish to make, the fact of their comparative rarity, is indisputable. One would expect to find those vast untrodden swamps teeming with every conceivable variety of reptile."

10: Anthony--150-152. (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro·
116, 153, 825

"The Jivaros have a specific name for practically every bird and mammal to be seen about them and, when our skinning table was piled up with specimens for the day's work, one of them would unhesitatingly name each animal. If a test was made on a later date with a bird or mammal of the same species, the designation previously used was invariably applied, proving that these names were not made up on the spot. [152]

On one occasion, Mr. Cherrie had shot an olive-backed thrush, a sober-colored species that nests in North America and migrates southward in the winter, and consequently not one of the birds strictly belonging to the region. A Jivaro who was going over the birds and naming them promptly singled out the thrush and said in substance: 'This bird is a foreigner. He visits us only in the winter and does not nest here.' An instance of this sort implies the keenest sort of observation, because the Jivaro must meet with from two to three hundred distinct varieties of birds, most of the smaller species of which have at best little value to him as food and consequently are of but minor importance. The birds of brighter color are often killed so that they may be attached as ornaments to the ceremonial necklaces, headbands, etc. that are worn in the dances."

10: Anthony--158 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 825, 752

"These people have a very wholesome respect for the snakes of their jungles and with good reason, for there are several venomous varieties among them. It is said they have an antidote for snake bite, using some plant which counteracts the venom. Because they go about barefooted, they are often bitten but, thanks to this plant, seldom killed by a snake. Among the material collected during a day's work I had a small coral snake (genus Micrurus) which was alive although somewhat incapacitated through rough handling in capture. At the time I judged it to be a non-venomous species, but nevertheless retained enough caution to handle it by the back of the neck so it could not strike me. A Jivaro who was standing over our table, very much interested in everything that was transpiring, displayed some apprehension when I showed him the snake coiled up in a small can, and beat a very hasty retreat when I took it out in my hand, acting in much the same manner as might a timid girl in the presence of a mouse."

In order to complete this monograph on the tsantsas, I must mention one curious specimen that I procured. It is a sloth head (probably Choloepus didactylus, Lin.) shrunk and treated in the manner of a human head, which a Jívaro wore suspended by its hair (Plate I, fig. 2). The only author who, to my knowledge, has pointed out that the Indians sometimes practice mummification on the remains of animals is Barriero (1). "If the Jíbaro is pressed by the enemy, says he, so that he does not have time to cut off the head of his slain adversary, the traditional celebration takes place nevertheless and the tsantsa is replaced by a head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy". It is possible that the object that I am about to describe was made for the same purpose.

The head of the animal is appreciably shrunk, if one compares it with the stuffed examples in the mammology hall of the Natural History Museum. The neck was cut by a slanting stroke, [87] high in back and low in front: the distance between the lips and the neck cut is 63 mm. on the ventral surface and 121 mm. on the dorsal surface. Two little sticks penetrate the interior of the head through the cervical opening and seem to have been for the purpose of giving rigidity to the strip of dorsal skin. The long, perfectly preserved hair of the animal completely hides this opening. A hole made at the top of the cranium allows the passage of a double suspension cord. The huge lips, projecting in front, are pierced with the three openings characteristic of tsantsas. From

1. Letter published by Boilaert, op. cit., page 113.

the snout to the end of the hair, the object measures 22 cm.

Lubbock (2) reports that women made prisoners are generally killed at the end of a certain time, in order to make tsantsas with their heads. Might not these feminine mummies have a representative value like the sow head of which Barriero spoke, and doubtless like this sloth head that I have just described?

---

2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 825

The study of all these religious manifestations shows us to what extent the Jíbaro is the slave of his beliefs. Like all simple beings, he also believes in omens. Dreams have for him a significance; if he dreams that he has been able to catch a wild hog, as soon as he gets up, he takes his lance, sets forth into the forest and does not return until he has killed one of these animals; if in his dreams he is bitten by a serpent, he does not leave his house on the following day for any reason.

20: Dyott--164
116, 825, 262, 177

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"The deer is regarded by the Jivaros as the incarnation of a particularly evil demon, and therefore its meat is not eaten or even touched; but in the case of Kuashu and other families who come in contact with traders, the superstitious dread in which the animal has been held in the past has given way to more rational ideas. No time was lost, therefore, in slinging the carcass on to a pole and carrying it back to the house in triumph."

20: Dyott--171-172 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 825, 868

"The Jivaros don't consider men to be glorified animals, but rather the reverse. All the animals, in their eyes, are degenerate human beings. Years ago, they say, all the inhabitants of the world were Shuaros, and gradually certain ones developed characteristics which we now associate with birds, animals, or fish. This consciousness of their relationship to the animal world is still very strong amongst them, so much so in the case of the sloth that he is not only attacked with the same ferocity they would summon against a human enemy, but they likewise preserve his head in a [172] shrunken state, as if it were that of some hostile tribesman.

Katani listened enthralled to every word of this Indian wisdom. In a few year's time he would be considered a man, for he would have taken part in the feast of Kusupani and drunk Miqua prepared from the bark of the beautiful flowering shrub (Datura arborea) which is administered with much ceremony whenever a boy reaches man's estate. It is a narcotic drink that is supposed to make men out of them, but in reality turns them into raving lunatics for a day or two. During this time, they see visions and talk with the great spirits who will aid them in their fight against future enemies."

25: Vigna --40 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 752, 825

When a Jíbaro is bitten by a snake, special, empiric, and superstitious cures are utilized. The patient is not allowed in the common house (He must make for himself a little hut of branches and leaves outside of the house), or, in the house they keep him apart by means of leaves and branches. They fear that the "evil eye" is acting on the patient and making the poison more efficacious. Snake bite is cured with infusions of the leaves of the "Huaco" and enemas of water and very strong pepper.

When someone knows that a Jíbaro has been bitten by a snake, he hurries to bite a machete or some iron as preservative. As soon as the sick person recovers, a great fiesta is organized in the house. All who participate, including the patient, paint their bodies a black color and in the form of a snake. This will serve to prevent bites in the future.

25: Vigna--41 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

Superstitions referring to food deprive them of excellent hunting. For example, they will not grow horns; nor the flesh of deer, for they believe that in ancient times, the Yhuanchi incarnated in the deer; the flesh of tapir causes loss of strength, etc.

28: Tessman--353 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

The one-year old buck is killed because it damages the manihot fields; but its meat is eaten only by a few old men. This is the reason for its unpopularity: since it has only two horns, this is taken as an indication that a sorcerer (túntšį) is hidden inside. Only rarely do they eat tapir, since they assume that it is related to the one-year old buck.

28: Tessman--359 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

Aside from human tsantsa there are also the mummified heads of sloths. See Plate 63. Karsten (Blood Revenge, p. 33) explains this custom by assuming that at a time when all humans were animals, the sloths had been the enemies of the Chiwaros. Rivet, however, points out (loc. cit., p. 86) that the mummified heads of the sloths are substitutes for human heads if the latter are unobtainable. Farabee, finally, assumes that the sloth-head gives the children a chance to practice. Karsten received his explanation from the Chiwaros, and it must be taken with a grain of salt, since the sloth is a very innocent creature that does not harm other animals. I incline to the belief that, while certain practical considerations may play a part, the sloth must have a certain significance in the Chiwaro religion.

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common spirits include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the victim's house or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the spirit seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the spirit instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.*

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an enemy, the person returns to his home, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same enemy he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the enemy soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this enemy soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The enemy soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general way. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to be an common sober dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or enmity. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an enemy soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.* However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an enemy soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess enemy souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victims' house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants enact "dreams" what kind of enemy they had each seen. The younger men have a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the enemy that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his enemy leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for enemy souls "are satisfied with one killing."* The departing enemy souls reportedly

32:Harner E-1 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[9]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Exclusively, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. Since the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of yuwalli or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*uruhum'i*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pupi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or yuwalli kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this yuwalli fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nékás wakanl, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbours return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[8]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see dirt and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned gardens and house sites." The Jivaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*tsan iwanch*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jivaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jivaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jivaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jivaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampag*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampag* are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a *wampag* flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jivaro believe that since the *wampag* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jivaro are uncertain, the *wampag* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jivaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás nekasal*, which does little to help the individual survive in his concrete society. It is the *arutam* soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jivaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal misery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

12:Harner E-9 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

225
225
114
1957
1957

[illegible] Possibly due to Axe vs the fact that the old shamans provide leading grounds for these animals.

[illegible] thanks are particularly due to Mildred Linzee and David Bagley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Aguaruna and Shuaraina beliefs, respectively. I fourth anonymous journal Shuaraina and Aguaruna were on these premises the Institute's base in Yarinacocha, western Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Aguaruna informant on the same subject in 1957 near the Río Cenepa[illegible], western Amazonas.

REFERENCES CITED

113

[illegible], Rafael
1935 The head hunters of western Amazonas, the life and culture of the Jívaro Indians of eastern Ecuador and Peru. Sociedad Scientifica Peruana, Contribuciones Etnográficas Latinoamericanas, vol. 2, no. 1. Helsinki.
1954 Some critical remarks on ethnological field research in South America. Sociedad Scientifica Peruana, Contribuciones Etnográficas Latinoamericanas, vol. 19, no. 1. Helsinki.

[illegible], Julian H. and Stanley Wilmore
1948 Tribes of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Montaña. In Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 3, Julian H. Steward, ed. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143. Washington.

[illegible], W. W.
1938 Historical and ethnographical notes on the Jívaro Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 117. Washington.

[illegible], Clara D.
1938 Alternative phenomenalism in Jívaro. International Journal of American Linguistics 24:87-96.

/331 cont./

almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes, which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bedrooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells, so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (ocachuhu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a large cloth (tarache) which

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

136
224
[222]

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jivaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jivaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jivaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

[222]

The Jivaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

[411]

136
224
223
237
261

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

[825]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 574 765 [231] [146] feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally, however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essentially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households. 231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned [224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc [241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im- [726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack- [825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *niawá*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re- [784] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden [276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be- [439] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, consisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days. The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed by the Jivaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *tsunki*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*matsanki*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pasu*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

recognized that milking a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jivaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participate in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid, in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*tsuesh nampar*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

14 Harvey L-A. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

some function. Normally, however, the true souls employed as assistants and used by men-age boys for their first ceremonial feasts, which are only two in number and bestowed by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás nekámat*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them, because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living individuals. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[12] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*tsuar tsuanchi*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person, with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When a Jívaro child wanders into the forest and is not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *tsempas*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *tsempas* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *tsempas* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *tsempas* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *tsempas* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás tsakani*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natema*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natema* drink among the Jivaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jivaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natema*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuŋi, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nantar*) which are

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema*. When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects, the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jivaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike unfailingly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*. 754 776 825 • [755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *tsakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *tsakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [928]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *tsakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *tsakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually re-supplying the *tsakani* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *tsakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754 776

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, sees the *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill the *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vulnerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical darts, *anumuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test involves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 721 765 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

[727] [825]

726 701 727 554 624 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untsa* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *uwa*, or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of the expected participants in the expedition build the *uwa* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

[796] [342]

726 702 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguaza region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 197 765 532 727 778 4. The Jivaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the trophy. In addition, the Jivaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jivaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 61–62; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, frontispiece, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jivaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers protested they are real), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

• [825]

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER 13

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jivaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower.

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1892, p. 99; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jivaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1966b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.